**SOME NOTES ON FATHER GREGORIO DE CESPEDES, KOREA’S FIRST EUROPEAN VISITOR**

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INTRODUCTION

Shortly after my arrival in Chosen I asked who had been the first European to visit this country. The replies included mention of the shipwrecked Dutch sailors, Captain Basil Hall, the French missionaries and even the crew of the “General Sherman”! This divergence led to my further investigations into the question and the preparation of these notes.

These notes are by no means definitive and I hope that some other may find it possible to add to our knowledge of Father de Cespedes. It has been impracticable to make a search for possible sources of information in Japanese records of the Korean invasion and, morever, it is doubtful that should any such data exist, it would contain any record of the priest’s own impressions of Korea,—the primary object of this research.

Only two of his letters written from Korea have been discovered and these contain only meager impressions of the country. It is possible that other letters written during Father de Cespedes’ stay may be found in the mass of un-catalogued documents and manuscripts in the old libraries of Spain, should they be spared the ravages of civil warfare. It is also possible that additional information may be found in the numerous documents relating to the Jesuit missions in Japan belonging to the library of the Kyoto Imperial University at present under reconstruction after the disastrous fire of a few years ago.

Where, for example, may be found copies of the “two letters I wrote from the island of Tsushima”? I have so far been unable to obtain a copy of an extract from a letter of Father de Cespedes written from “Goquinay” (Gokinai) in 1587. This letter was written six years prior to his visit to Korea, however, and would obviously contain no information relating to this country. My request to the seminary [page II] at Goa for any available data regarding Father de Cespedes has failed to elicit any reply. Other information might be found in Japanese family records in districts where he labored. The records of the So family of Tsushima have been purchased by the Government General of Chosen; they may possibly contain some mention of Father de Cespedes’ two visits to that island.

In spite of the disappointments mentioned above the quest itself has been a satisfying reward,—as my hunting friends agree,—particularly so in the contacts with men and institutions through whose generosity and cooperation the completion of these notes has been made possible.

To the Reverend Georg Schurhammer of the Society of Jesus, in Rome, I am particularly indebted for much data contained in the archives and histories of that distinguished Society, and for photostat copies of pertinent source material Dr. Max Kuenburg, S. Rector of Sophia University (Jochi Daigaku), Tokyo, and Father Laures of his faculty, placed at my use the ponderous but fascinating “Bibliothe-que de la Societe de Jesus” in the university library.

The Reverend Leon Pichon of the Societe des Missions Etrangeres, of Seoul, has generously furnished much useful material, has indicated other possible sources, and has added immeasurably to my indebtedness to him by his generous gift of Profillet’s three volume “Le Martyrologe de l’Eglise du Japon”,—a mine of biographical data. His own trenchant study on “Le Prehistoire de l’Eglise en Coree” has been of great value. The Reverend Dorotheus Schilling, O. F. M., Rome, has assisted in obtaining useful material; while the British Museum and the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, have furnished copies of pertinent documents.

After commencing my investigations I found that Mr. Masayuki Yamaguchi, teacher of history at the Keijo Middle School, had published an ably written brochure in Japanese on Father de Cespedes’ visit to Korea. Mr. Yamaguchi has a discriminating sense of historical values and an enthusiasm for getting at the “root of the matter”; he has read and [page III] criticised the draft of these notes and has kindly prepared the list of Japanese proper names forming Appendix VII.

To the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society I am greatly indebted for the financial grant which made possible the purchase of the copies of source material used. In particular, the Reverend Charles Hunt, during his presidency of the Korea Branch, has given generously of his time and encouragement, and has patiently criticised the draft of these notes.

Very little of the source material used was in English and a number of friends have generously assisted by translations. Mr. George R. Loehr of Yenching University, Pei-ping, has translated much Spanish and Portugese material. The Reverend Walter J. Coleman of the Maryknoll Mission furnished translations from the Italian, while the Very Reverend John Ed ward Morris of the same mission, and the Reverend Henry J. Drake, S. S. M., of the English Church Mission, have translated useful Latin material.

Several interesting problems arise from the visit of Father de Cespedes to Korea. Did repatriated Korean prisoners who had been converted in Japan engage in propaganda in this country? What was the family name of Vincent Caoun? Did Father de Cespedes come into contact with Koreans other than prisoners of war? How extensive were his travels in this country ? It is hoped that others may be interested in attempting to find answers to these problems in official and family records both Korean and Japanese.

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**FATHER GREGORIO DE CESPEDES**

Early Years.

Gregorio de Cespedes, Korea’s first European visitor, was born in Madrid in 1551. Nothing is known of his boy-hood. We may readily understand, however, some of the influences which led him, at the age of eighteen, to enter the Society of Jesus.

Sixty years before, in 1491, was born another Spaniard with no small claim to our consideration, Ignatius de Loyola. On September 27, 1540, Loyola received papal sanction for the establishment of the company of Jesus in the Bull “Regemini Militantis Ecclesiae”. On April 22, 1541, in the Church of St. Paul Outside the Walls (of Rome) he and his companions, among them Francis Xavier, made profession of their vows, thus constituting the Society of Jesus, whose motto became “Ad majorm gloriam Dei”. The rapidly expanding and far flung missionary activities of the new Society became a challenge to the spirit of adventure as well as to the zeal of youth.

It was, moreover, an age of discoveries, of new intellectual forces, and of renewed spiritual vigor. Lands hitherto unknown were being opened to exploration, to commerce, and to missionary enterprise. Is it any wonder then, that the young Gregorio de Cespedes should feel the influence of these forces and unite himself with the Society of Jesus ?

The Reverend Georg Schurhammer, S. J., has very kindly furnished a few citations regarding Cespedes from the Jesuit archives. In 1569, when Cespedes was eighteen years of age and the Society only ten years older, he entered upon his novitiate in that Society at Salamanca. In 1571, after a novitiate of two years he made profession of his vows at Avila and continued his studies. We are told that these included three years of Latin grammar, two and one-half years of canon law, and five years of logic and theology, all followed with but mediocre success. [page 2]

In 1574 we find him at Goa, which had been captured by the Portugese in 1510 and was now the capital of Portugese empire and commerce, and of Jesuit missionary activity in the Far East In Goa Cespedes continued his theological studies and was admitted to the priesthood in 1575. We are told that he was a young man of mature judgment, possessed with good preaching ability, but that his health was not robust.

Following his admission to the priesthood Father de Cespedes continued his studies, heard confessions, and was engaged in routine ecclesiastical duties until early in 1577, when he was sent to Japan. (Luis Frois, S. J., DIE GESCHICHTE JAPANS). Father Schurhammer, however, states that Father de Cespedes was ‘‘sent to Japan in 1576”. This discrepancy of dates may doubtless be explained by assuming that the order transferring him to Japan was issued in 1576 and that his arrival there did not occur until the following year. At any rate Profillet \* states that he arrived in Japan on July 4, 1577, and we first hear of him at Omura in the Province of Hizen.

The Jesuits in Japan.

Before continuing the account of Father de Cespedes’ career let us turn to a brief consideration of the introduction of Christianity into Japan.

Although considerable confusion exists among both Japanese and European historians regarding the date of the Portugese “discovery” of Japan, the year 1542 was “generally accepted by the missionaries subsequently in Japan as the correct one”. (Murdoch, Vol II, p. 33.) The rest of the story is best told in the following quotation from a letter of St Francis Xavier written from Cochin on January 20, 1548:

“While at Malacca I learned great news from some Portugese merchants, very trustworthy people. They

\* Le Martyrologe de L’Eglise du Japon, Tome III, p. 37.

[page 3]spoke to me of certain great islands discovered some time ago; they are called the Islands of Japan. Our Holy Faith, they say, could there be more profitably propagated than in any other part of the Indies, because the Japanese are very desirous of being instructed, which our Gentiles of India are not. With these merchants came a Japanese called Angero who was in quest of me; so that these merchants spoke of me to him. Angero came with the desire of confessing to me, be-cause having told the Portugese of certain sins of his youth and asked them how he could obtain pardon from God for such serious sins, the Portugese counselled him to proceed with them to Malacca, where he would find me, and he did so; but when he reached Malacca I had departed for Maluco; so that he embarked to return to Japan. When they were in sight of these islands (Japan) a great tempest, in which they were like to perish, drove them back; he then resumed the way to Malacca and found me there. His joy was great and afterwards he came again and again to be instructed. As he spoke Portugese tolerably well, we could understand—I, the questions he asked, and he, the answers I returned. If all the Japanese are as eager to learn as Angero is, they are of all nations newly-discovered the most curious..... All the Portugese merchants who have been to Japan tell me that if I go there more will be done there for the service of the Lord than among the Gentiles of India, the Japanese being a people of great sense. What I feel in my soul makes me think that I, or another of the Company, will go to Japan before two years, although the voyage is full of perils”.\*

Murdoch states that in addition to receiving instruction in the Christian religion “Angero” (in Japanese, Yajiro) also instructed Fathers Xavier, Torres and Fernandes in Japanese.

\* Murdoch, History of Japan, Vol II, p. 37-38.

[page 4] Yajiro was baptised in the cathedral at Goa on Whitsunday, 1548, by the bishop and remained with the missionaries until in the summer of 1549, when, accompanied by Fathers Xavier, Torres and Fernandes he set sail in a Chinese pirate junk for Japan.

On August 15th, 1549, the party stepped ashore at Kagoshima, and there began the missionary endeavor that was to bear such astonishing fruit during the less than one hundred years of its existence. As interesting as they are, the details of this missionary enterprise are not germane to the subject of these notes. In spite of opposition the work grew and a number of local rulers, or daimyo, and their followers adopted the Christian religion, and new missionaries were frequently arriving from Goa.

Father de Cespedes in Japan.

As already indicated, Father de Cespedes arrived in Japan on July 4, 1577, and was first mentioned at Omura, near Nagasaki, where he remained at least until sometime in 1578, for I have found a copy of an undated letter written by him from that place at some time during 1578. This letter, the text of which may be seen in Appendix I to these notes, contains a graphic account of a battle between Christian and anti-Christian forces which took place near Omura in February of that yean The foregoing would seem to refute the statement of Frois\* that Father de Cespedes removed to Kyoto (known to the Jesuits as “Meaco” i. e., “miyako”) in 1577.

Quoting from the the Spanish archives of the Society of Jesus, Father Schurhammer states in a personal letter that in 1579 Father de Cespedes was in Kyoto, that he had made good progress in the Japanese language and was hearing Japanese confessions. Although he was still considered young ana inexperienced he was reported to have been of

\* Die Geschichte Japans.

[page 5] exemplary virtue and was particularly fortunate in his ability to make himself agreeable to the Japanese people.

In Appendix II will be found an extract from a letter written in 1579 by Father de Cespedes from Kyoto, containing an account of missionary progress there as well as an all too optimistic expression of pious hope in the anticipated conversion of Oda Nobunaga.

In 1581 we find Father de Cespedes at Wakae, the seat of the Christian daimyo Simon Ikeda, ana in 1583 he is again reported in Kyoto.

In 1585 he was Superior of the Seminary in Osaka and we learn of an interesting conversation during that year between him and the man who was later to become the leader in the persecution of the Christians, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Following the death of Oda Nobunaga in 1582, this peasant- born genius had undertaken his consolidation of control of the Empire; in 1585 he had been appointed Kwanpaku (Regent and later, in 1591, assumed the title of Taiko (Prince).

It was as “Cambacudono” and “Taicosama” that he was known to the Jesuits;—these titles will be met with in subsequent citations in these notes.

According to Murdoch (Vol. II, p. 213) Hideyoshi visited the seminary accompanied by a number of nobles and held a long and familiar conversation with Father de Cespedes. From this account we may safely assume that this was not the first meeting between the two. “You know”, Hideyoshi is reported to have said, “that everything in your law contents me, and I find no other difficulty in it except its prohibition of having more than one wife. Were it not for that I would become a Christian at once.”

On October 30, 1585, Father de Cespedes despatched to the Father Provincial of India a lengthy account of the conditions surrounding missionary work in the Osaka region and, in particular, news of the Christian noblemen, most of whom were already known to the Father Provincial A full translation of this letter forms Appendix III to these notes. [page 6]

Proof of the fact that the missionaries were not wholly cognizant of certain realities of Japanese politics is found in the fact that Hideyoshi is referred to as “the king” and his consort as “the queen”.

It was in 1587, while still in Osaka, that he baptised the wife and several members of the household of Hosokawa Tadaoki. We shall hear more of this nobleman later.

From 1589 to 1593 he is reported to have been in Nagasaki and in Arima. Father Schurhammer’s notes indicate that Father de Cespedes had by this time gained remarkable fluency in the Japanese language, that his health had improved, and that he had been found lacking in the qualities requisite for a successful Father Superior. From this we must assume that with his language ability and his facility for making himself agreeable to the Japanese he was more successful in parochial and evangelistic work.

In a letter of January 18, 1588, from Arima, (Appendix IV) Father de Cespedes, among other things, writes of the Christians in Shimabara, and of the conversion of four bonzes (Buddhist priests) in Mie.

At this point it is pertinent to our story to note two of the men who played influential roles in Father de Cespedes’ visit to Korea.

In 1583 the Jesuits had baptised Konishi Yukinaga, a young officer in the service of Hideyoshi. Upon his baptism Konishi assumed the name “Augustin” and it was by this name that he is commonly mentioned in Church histories.

All of Konishi’s household subsequently embraced the Christian religion. His daughter, Marie, was married to So Yoshitomo, Daimyo of Tsushima. In 1590 the latter was in Kyoto where he met Father Valignani and four Japanese nobles who had left in 1582 on an embassy from the Christian daimyo to the Pope. So was so deeply impressed with the accounts these travellers gave of the Christian religion that he asked for baptism at once and enthusiastically promised to convert the entire of Tsushima upon his return to his fief. Although he had already received some instruc- [page 7] tion in the new religion from his wife and from Konishi and his conversion appeared to have been from motives of the profoundest sincerity, So made a sorry spectacle a few years later in his repudiation of both his faith and his wife.

While the young Konishi was advancing in the favor of Hideyoshi another young officer was likewise finding favor and advancement in the same service. Kato Kiyomasa, a cousin of Hideyoshi, born in the same village as the leader, had entered the latter’s service at the age of fifteen. He was a staunch adherent of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism; a devotion sometimes attributed to his jealousy of Konishi and the latter’s espousal of Christianity.

The Invasion of Korea.

We need not be concerned here with the causes leading up to the invasion of Korea, or of its progress. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that the quarrel was fundamentally one between Japan and China and that the involvement of the peninsular kingdom resulted from that country’s refusal of passage to Japanese forces over the most practicable (from the Japanese point of view) route to China.

Contrary to the opinion of a number of Church historians the invading forces included only a small proportion of Christian converts. Nor do the facts bear out the statement found in both ecclesiastical and secular histories that Konishi Yukinaga and Kata Kiyomasa were the two leaders of the expedition. According to Murdoch : \*

“So far as there was any supreme command in the first Korean campaign it was held by Ukida Hideiye, Daimyo of Bizen, Bitchu and Mimasaki, whom Hideyoshi had once adopted as a son. But as a matter of fact, the chief of each division was left with a comparatively free hand, and acted to a large extent on his own initiative.”

This confusion of the relative importance of these two leaders arises from the fact that Konishi’s divison was largely

\* History of Japan, Vol. II, p. 137

[page 8]Christian\* and consequently the source of most of the information reaching the missionaries, and that the rivalry between Konishi and Kato resulted in the withdrawal of the missionaries from Korea.

Although the accounts of the progress of the invading armies from the landing at Fusan on May 24th, 1592, to the capture of Seoul on June 12th, and the subsequent advance into northern Korea make interesting reading, it is sufficient to cur purpose to remember that the Japanese troops evacuated Seoul on May 9th, 1593, and that Konishi’s division took up quarters in a chain of camps extending from Torai to Urusan in Keisho-nando.

Cespedes in Chosen.

It has already been noted that Konishi Yukinaga’s division of the invading forces included a number of brigade commanders who, like their leader, were Christians and many of whose soldiers had likewise embraced that religion.

In “THE CHRISTIAN DAIMYO” (page 191) Steichen states that “Konishi, acting in concert with the other Christian daimvos, invited Father de Cespedes to come and console them in their exile”. A slightly differnt version is given BY DALLET (“HISTOIRE DE L’EGLISE DE COREE,” VOL. I, P. 2) who states that the Christian leaders in Chosen had, under the leadership of Konishi “entreated the Superior of the Mission in Japan to send a priest” Other accounts state that the request for priests was made direct to Father Pedro Gomez, Superior in the Province of Bungo and Vice Provincial of the Society in Japan, from Konishi.

\* The HOTAIKO SEIGAI SHINSHU quoted in translation as a footnote to page 317 of Murdoch (op. cit.) states that Konishi,s division consisted of 18.700 troops under six leaders, as follows : Konishi 7,000, Arima 2,000, So 5,000, Omura 1,000, Matsuura 3,000, Goto 700, With the exception of Matsuura, all of the above commanders were Christians. Kato’s division included three brigades; a total of 20,800 troops.

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Therefore “toward the end of 1593 the Vice Provincial of the Company of Jesus sent to them Father Gregorio de Cespedes and a Japanese brother named Foucan Eion. The priest and his companion were forced to pass the winter in the island of Tsushima’’ (Dallet, Vol. I. p. 2).

Dallet errs in stating that the two missionaries had to “pass the winter in the island of Tsushima.” In the first letter written from Korea by a European, Father de Cespedes states that “We remained in that island for about eighteen days” and, further, that “on the day of St. John the Evangelist (December 27) we left..... and..... soon reached Korea.” Therefore they must have arrived in Tsushima about December 9. Since the passage from Tsushima to the Korean mainland can be made in about four hours by sailing vessels, Father de Cespedes and his companion must have landed in this country on December 27, 1593,—doubtless in the afternoon.

Guzman and other historians state that they arrived in 1594. From the evidence available, however, it would seem that 1593 is correct.

The Japanese forces evacuated Seoul on May 9, 1593, and withdrew to the southern coast The request for a priest must have been made shortly after the Christian troops were established in their new quarters, i. e., in 1593. Since Dallet indicates that the two Jesuits were sent ‘‘toward the end” of that year, and we have Father de Cespedes’ own statement that they left Tsushima on December 27th after a stay of about eighteen days, it becomes clear that the two missionaries must have arrived in 1593 and not in the year following.

The error of a year in the date cited by a number of Church historians has doubtless arisen from the erroneous statement that the two missionaries spent the winter in Tsushima, instead of about eighteen days, and also to the fact that none of the works consulted appear to have made use of Father de Cespedes’ own letters indicating the date of the departure from Tsushima. Moreover, the first reports [page 10] of the presence in Korea of the two missionaries would ob-viously not have reached their confreres in Japan until 1594, and mention thereof recorded in accounts of events occurring in that year.

It is a matter of keen regret that the only two letters written from this country by Father de Cespedes (translations of which form Appendix V) record no impressions of the country or its people other than a brief mention of the intense cold and of the rough passage across the Straits of Tsushima, —two features of Korean life apparently still unchanged. Obviously, however, he was so fully occupied “with going from fortress to fortress, contending against disorders of every kind, reforming abuses, confirming Christians for the administration of the Sacraments, and baptizing numbers of pagans” (Dallet, op. cit) that no opportunity arose for evangelism among the Koreans. Morever, his ignorance of the language and his attachment to the invading army would have prevented him from coming into any effective contact with Koreans other than prisoners of war.

Supplementing the two undated letters of Father de Cespedes, a few citations from Church historians are of interest, in spite of some amusing errors,—among them being Dallet’s statement that the two missionaries reached the fortress of Comangai “after a somewhat long voyage, full of dangers.” As pointed out above, the distance between Tsushima and the Korean mainland may be covered by sailing vessels in four hours at most.

\*Mr. Masayuki Yamaguchi has identified ‘‘Comangai” as 熊浦 (now 熊川) in Keisho-nando

No further details regarding Foucan Eion are available.

Crasset (Vol. III, p. 200) states that So Yoshitomo’s wife, Konishi’s daughter, the “Princess Marie,” “was overcome with joy when in 1594 (sic) Father Gregorio de Cespedes arrived at Tsushima on his way to Korea. He was not content with having the Princess fulfill her religious duties, he addressed himself also to the pagans, who until that time had never seen a missionary, and not without success, for he had [page 11]the satisfaction of administering baptism to some twenty noble personages and to a large number of others”. Charlevoix (Vol. IV, p. 247) also states that “there he had many spiritual conquests’’ while Dallet (op. cit) likewise attests to the success of the two missionaries in that island : “There they baptised a large number of pagans, among others the four principal counsellors of the Lord of Tsu-shima.”

The following account of the stay in Tsushima and the visit to Korea, translated from the Spanish original, is quoted from Vol. XII, Chapters 27 and 37, of Guzman’s “HISTORIA DE LAS MISSIONS:”

“In the same year of 1594 Father Gregorio de Cespedes went to the Island of Tsushima and to Corea, because D. Augustin and the other lords and knights who were there sent to ask Father Peter Gomez to send someone to confess them and preach to them. The Father, arriving on the Island of Tsushima, was received with much comfort by Dona Maria, daughter of Eh Augustin and mistress of that territory, and because while staying there the weather turned out in such a way that he was not able to go to Corea for several days, he found occasion to receive the confession of that lady and of all of her household who were Christians, and to preach to the Gentiles and leading men of that city, because up to that time they had not been preached the law of God on account of the war which had broken out in Corea. Because after the King of Tsushima had become a Christian in Meaco, during the days that the Father stayed in that place, there were baptised about twenty leading persons, without counting more common people.

“The weather having quieted, the Father left for Corea and arrived in a few days at the fort of IX Augustin, and although he was not in it his brother Vincent, who had remained in his stead, received them. But he returned in two days, accompanied by the King of Tsushima and other lords and knights. The King express- [page 12] ed the thanks of those in Tsushima who had been baptised, and begged the Father to go to the fortress where his men were quartered, as there were many who wished to listen to preaching and receive Holy Baptism. The Father sent his companion to instruct them, while he in the meantime received the confessions of Don Augustin and of those of his fortress, promising to go later to baptise them himself.

“On being notified that they were ready, he left for that place and baptised a nephew of the King of Tsushima, with a few knights. The former was present at all the discourses in order to more fundamentally inform himself of the facts of his salvation. The Father and his companion had much to do, as all these Christians had neither heard Mass nor sermon nor confessed themselves since they had left Japan for the war in Corea. Thus, in order to satisfy the desire of all, it was necessary to labour not only during the day, but also a great part of the night.

‘‘Of the twelve fortresses which Taicosama com-manded to be built on the coast of that Kingdom, the three most important ones were in charge of Christian lords and commanders.

“The first among all was where D. Augustin resided. There were in it the Lords of Arima and Omura, Hirado and Goto and Amacusa. As in this fortress the majority of the persons, or almost all, were Christians, there were more particular comforts and benefits which they received from the homilies and sermons and with the saying of Masses for them and receiving their confessions, than ordinarily.

The second fortress was under the command of the son-in-law of Don Augustin, King of Tsushima, who was called Darius Tsushima-dono. In this place much fruit was gathered, because the King very much desired the conversion of his people, and as he had in his company the leaders of the Island, when the year 1595 [page 13]came, almost all were already Christian and were seeking to know very fundamentally all that related to their salvation. Besides the ordinary homilies and sermons which either the Father or the Brother delivered, they were very much helped by the booklets of ten chapters, in their own language, in which were summed up the substance of our Faith and Christian religon. Thus by reading them they were better able to retain in their memories what they had heard in the homilies.

“The third fortress was in charge of the King of Buzen, IX Simon Kuroda, and of his son Cainocamidono. On account of the good opportunity which they then had to be free of any occupation, they were able to have fifteen consecutive days with the Father and his companion in that fortress communing in regard to the things of their souls and questioning concerning all the doubts which they felt Wishing to inform themselves very much to the point concerning many particular things in the law of God, not only those which were obligatory, but also those which helped them to their good, they listened to a sermon each day, and two on some days, one in the morning and another in the afternoon. So special were the liking and feeling which Our Lord communicated to D. Simon Condera for His law and Divine Mysteries, that he did not not wish other matters to be discussed. In order to meditate on them at his leisure, he withdrew each day at certain hours, which were set aside for this purpose, to read his books of devotion. He also gave command that during this period he was not to be disturbed in any way. He observed it with the greatest punctuality the whole time that the Father remained in Corea. Yet withal, being such a great lord and such a leading soldier and commander, and busy in affairs of war, never did he abstain from fasting all the days ordered by the Church, without counting others which he added on account of his devoutness, all of which he accompanied with the secret [page 14] disciplines which he practised. By this example, his son and the servants of his house did the same.

“In another fortress which was between the one of D. Augustin and that of Condera, resided another gentile, Lord of the region of Jimo, of which he was in charge. He was called Hicujidono (Kikuchi), a very prominent leader, not only on account of his rank, but also because of his income, which was very great This knight wished to enter into friendship with the Christian lords of Jimo and in order to confirm it, tried through the mediation of D. Augstin, to marry his son and heir to a daughter of King IX Protasio. On understanding that such could not occur because his son was gentile, he persuaded him to listen to the sermons. This knight commenced to listen to them at the beginning, in order to fall in with the wishes of his father, but later he came to have such a liking for them, convinced as he was of the truths, that he determined to become a Christian, although that had at no time anything to do with the marriage. Father Gregorio de Cespedes baptized with him one who was a man of great understanding, and who promised to do the same with all of his people, on returning from Corea to his domain which was in the Kingdom of Chicungo (Chikugo).

“There was a knight, a native of Bungo, who, being in the war in Corea, and taking pity on the many creatures who were dying destitute of their parents, took it upon himself to baptize them because, since he could no longer make their bodies whole, they should not lose their souls. Thus all those whom he saw in probable danger of death he immediately baptized. For this purpose he had a servant of his always carry a bottle of water hanging from his belt and by these means he sent to heaven more than 200 souls. If the rest of the Christians had paid attention to this, they would have ren-dered unto our Lord many similar services.” [page 15] In the hope that the Annual Letters of 1594, 1595, and 1596 might possibly contain further accounts of Father de Cespedes’ stay in Korea or descriptive references to this country, I asked the assistance of Father Schurhammer. In a letter from Rome of October 12, 1935, he wrote that the Annual Letters of those years “say nothing of Cespedes visit to Korea” and that “Guzman used the Spanish archives of the Society of Jesus, now lost, for his book.”

Turning for a moment to Crasset (Vol. I, p. 657) we find that through the zeal of Konishi and with the aid of Father de Cespedes “all of his (Konishi’s) subjects became Christians in the year 95.” Crasset also states: “that which contributed greatly to their conversion was the spiritual books which he (de Cespedes) had given them to read, principally the one on Christian doctrine which he had composed in Japanese.” We find here a confirmation of the statement previously made that the Father had acquired an unusually fluent command of the Japanese language.

Charlevoix (Vol. IV, p. 247) states that “It was apparently the custom in this country to expose in the streets children whom it was impossible to nourish, for I find that one of the occupations of the Christian soldiers and officers was to baptize these little creatures whom they found at the point of death, and a single gentleman of Bungo himself baptized more than a hundred.”

As already pointed out, his pre-occupation with his duties to the Japanese troops as well as his ignorance of the language unquestionably prevented Father de Cespedes from meeting any Koreans and carrying on propaganda among them. The evidence at present available appears to support this thesis,—vide the following passages from Dallet (Vol. I, p. 4) :

“During his stay in Korea in 1594 Father die Cespedes did not see any natives except the prisoners of war who were sent to Japan to be sold as slaves.

“The letters written at that time to the Father General by the Jesuits in Japan prove that it had been [page 16] impossible for him to enter into relation with the people of the country.

“In effect, the policy of the Koreans was to isolate the Japanese by completely laying waste the country around the forts which the latter were occupying. A large part of the inhabitants had fled into the northern provinces, while the others retreated before the invaders and, at their approach, sought refuge in the forests and mountains.

“After the departure of Father de Cespedes the Japanese army remained in Korea for more than three years more, but the zealous missionary was unable to return and no other Priest was sent there.

“The Japanese Christians were unable to come into contact with the inhabitants. Moreover, the inate hatred of the Koreans for everything foreign and the dislike of a vanquished people towards its conquerors certainly defeated all attempts to proselytize.

“The Koreans taken to Japan as prisoners of war were, therefore, the only ones of their people who had an opportunity to know the Christian Faith.”

In an excellent article in the REVUE HISTORIQUE DES MISSIONS on the “Pre-History of the Church in Korea,” Father Leon Pichon of the Societe des Missions Etrangeres, Seoul, points out, however, that in addition to tradition among Christian converts the Christian scholar, Jean Tyeng Iakyong, asserted that Christianity existed in Korea about two hundred years prior to the historic baptism of Li Seng-houn in Peking in 1784. Two hundred years prior to that date would have been 1584,—eight years before the Japanese invasion. This phrase “two hundred years’’ must therefore be taken as an approximation. According to Father Pichon, Charlovoix and number of other writers, including Monsignor Bruguiere, Monsignor Luquet, Baron Henrion and Hue state that Cespedes did make at least a few converts among Koreans not taken prisoners to Japan. [page 17]

No evidence has yas yet been adduced to support these alle-gations and Father Pichon suggests that old public and private archives in Korea may yet be found which may throw some light on this problem.

The Withdrawal from Korea.

The following passages from Guzman (Vol. XII, chapter 37), derived from the Spanish archives of the Society of Jesus, explain the circumstances which forced the two missionaries to withdraw from Korea :

“The devil was regretful of the fruit which was being gathered in Corea to the beuefit of the Christians and gentiles who were there, so he attempted to impede the work by raising against the Commander, D. Augustin, a great storm, which put all of them in very grave danger. This was done by means of a great enemy of IX Augustin, the Commander Kato Kiyomasa, who, because of the envy which he always had of the former’s victories and successful enterprises, went around searching for opportunities to discredit him in the eyes of Taicosama and to cause him to fall from favour. Thus it seemed to Kato Kiyomasa that this was a fine chance to obtain what he desired, by giving an account of how IX Augustin, against the orders of Taicosama, was keeping Fathers who were preaching the law of God in Corea. Because D. Augustin was a person of such public prominence and of such an honourable position, he would furnish occasion for the rest of the lords to do as much, thus they would lightly regard the commands of Taicosama.

Augustin heard what Kato Kiyomasa was wishing to do, causing very much anxiety to himself and to all the Christian lords and knights; because that gentile, by painting the case to his manner and taste, and being able to prove how the Fathers were staying there, would very probably cause Taicosama to change his attitude. What with his anger and sudden temper, he would bring [page 18] about some demonstration causing much damage to D. Augustin and also to the whole Christian community. But D. Augustin, being very brave, and a very good Christian, comforted them all by saying that he was trusting greatly in our Lord, because since he was doing these things in His service, He Himself would get them out of the difficulties, as he had already experienced on many other occasions. So it happened, as we shall tell later.

“It seemed best to all these knights that the Father and his companion should thereupon return to Nagaski, so that if Taicosama should send to make some investigation, he should not find them in Corea. It then came about that in a few days, Taicosama sent for D. Augustin, ordering him to arrive at Fushimi to discuss certain affairs relating to Corea. D. Augustin being one day in friendly conversation with him, as he was very discreet, began to tell how the ship from China had arrived at the port of Nagasaki during the year 1595, and that he had been very anxious to know the reason why it had not come during 1594. Thus in order to inform himself well and to give to His Highness a full and truthful account to this affair, he had sent to Nagasaki for a Father who was a friend of his and requested him to go to Corea, because, as the Fathers understood the the Portuguese better, they also knew more in detail their intentions and designs. On account of this he gave Taicosama reasons why the ship did not come that year. Taicosama was very satisfied and pleased with the diligence that D. Augustin had displayed and in this manner closed the door in case Kato Kiyomasa or anyone else should speak to him, they would not be believed. But as all knew how much Taicosama esteemed IX Augustin, and how he considered the others enemies and jealous of the victories of the latter, so when Kato Kiyomasa heard how well D. Augustin had gotten on with him and the good “way-out” which he had given [page 19] to the coming of the Fathers, he (Kiyomasa) did not utter a word in order not to stir up Taicosama against himself, instead of gaining favour.

“Father Gregorio de Cespedes, on returning from Corea with his companion, arrived on the Island of Tsushima, where he heard the confession of Dona Maris, daughter of D. Augustin and mistress of that terriory, with all her household, and baptised another fifty gentiles. He was not able to stay there long, because on that Island were the ministers and officials of Taicosama who were anxious to replace those in Corea. Her husband had sent Dona Maria two very small captive boys, withal very noble, because one was the son of the Secretary of King of Corea. Because they were so hand-some, he pitied them and said that in no wise would he consent that they be captives, but that she should give them to the Church as its sons. She sent the elder one, who was the son of the Secretary, in the company of the Father, to the seminary, to be brought up there, while the other because he was smaller, she kept in her house, with the purpose of sending him later, when he should reach the proper age.”

Steichen’s version of the affair differs slightly in details from that of Guzman :

“After a stay of two months in Korea, Father Cespedes had to leave suddenly. Kato Kiyomasa, who had become more and more hostile to Konishi, had accused him to the Taiko (Hideyoshi) of having invited foreign preachers to come to the camps of the Japanese army. Konishi hastened to inform the Taiko that he had made the Jesuits come to Korea in order to learn from them news of the vessel from the Indies that had long been expected. The Taiko was content with this explanation, without pushing his inquiry further, but Konishi, fearing the malevolence of his enemies, counselled Father Cespedes to retire to Tsushima to the house of his daughter Mary, the wife of So Yo- [page 20] shitomo. Father Cespedes left immediately and went to the Island in question. So’s wife profited by the presence of the missionary to have some fifty persons of her household baptised. When after some time Cespedes departed thence, Mary confided to him two young Koreans of distinction, whom her husband had sent her as prisoners. Father Cespedes brought these two children with him, and had them educated with the other pupils of the College.”

Steichen is obviously wrong in stating that the two Jesuits remained in Korea for only two months. We have already noted that they arrived in this country on December 27, 1593. In his account of their withdrawal from Korea, Guzman (op. cit) states that “in a few days” (i. e., after their departure) Hideyoshi had ordered Konishi to return to Fushimi “to discuss certain affairs relating to Korea.”

NOW, IN HIS “NIHON YASOKAI SENKYOSHI GESPEDES NO TO-SEN” Mr. Masayuki Yamaguchi states that Konishi returned to Japan on June 8, 1595 (April 30 according to the Japanese lunar calendar),—this date being that given in TOKUTOMI’S “KINSEI NIHON KOKUMIN SHI,―CHOSEN EKI.”

Instead of two months, therefore, the two missionaries remained in Korea for about a year and a half.

At this point another problem arises. Did Father de Cespedes or other missionaries subsequently come to Chosen? With one exception the sources consulted fail to mention any subsequent visits to Chosen of missionaries from Japan. Charlevoix, however, states (Vol. IV, p. 434), that “in 1597 there were 128 Jesuits in Japan, of whom 46 were priests............2 were in Korea.” It is hoped that further research among the Annual Letters may reveal information on this interesting point.

We know definitely that Father de Cespedes was not in Chosen at least in the early part of 1597; in a letter written from Arima on February 26, 1597, he described the famous [page 21] martyrdom of the twenty-six which occurred at Nagasaki on February fifth of that year. This letter (Appendix VI), written with that tragedy very vividly fresh in his thought, concludes with the wish : “........ I beg to you to petition to God for me the crown of martyrdom..........”

Finis Coronat Opus.

The crown of martyrdom was denied to him, however, and he continued his ministry in the province of Buzen “..........where the Church founded by his efforts prospered for many years........” (Profillet Vol. III, p. 37). The dai-myo of Buzen, Hosokawa Tadaoki, had always professed a great personal admiration for Father de Cespedes, although he had never adopted the Christian religion (Steichen, p. 270). Profillet states that Hosokawa was subject to frequent changes in his attitude toward the missionaries and their converts and only awaited the death of Father de Cespedes, for whom he had a high regard, to expel all Christians from his domains.

The following excerpt from a letter written by the Father on March 12, 1602, to Father Pedro Chirinos, Rector of the Church of the Jesuits at Manila, indicates this apparent friendliness of the daimyo toward the missionary :

“Your Reverence will receive full information about this kingdom through letters which the Superiors will write to you from Nagasaki, for which reason you will excuse me if I give here only a brief account of the things of this kingdom of Buzen in which I am now staying, and where our affairs proceed with more prosperity than in other parts of Japan.

“In fact, although the lord is a gentile he has excellent qualities and shows me great extraordinary affection, supporting me in my purpose as if he were a Christian, which he is not very far from being, as he has good understanding. Many times he listens to our good talks and sermons on Our Lord, which give him such good dispositions that God has given us much con- [page 22] fidence in his future conversion, which would open a great door for the conversion of various kingdoms.

“May God do this as He can. All his vassals, and especially the nobles, are friendly to us and a good number of them now are Christians, with the consequence that the two Brothers are always busy while two other preachers are giving instruction in our Faiths Few days pass without my baptizing people. May God be praised.”\*

The exact date of Father de Cespedes’ death is not known. The following account is quoted in translation from Profillet (op. cit):

“It was in 1611 that Father de Cespedes died of apoplexy on returning from Nagasaki to his residence at Kokura. His death was instantaneous and after saying two or three times: ‘Deo gratias’, he gave up his soul to God. He was almost sixty years old and had spent thirty-four years in his ministry in Japan.

“Yetsuo-dono (Hosokawa), who had declared that after the death of Father de Cespedes he wished neither Christians nor churches in his dominions, did not even permit the burial of the Father in his territories, and the venerable body was taken to Nagasaki................”

where, according to a letter of May 20, 1936, from Carl O. Spamer, Esquire, American Consul at Nagasaki, it was “reported to have been buried in the Shuntoku-ji (a Buddhist temple) in Sakurababa-machi.” In 1614, when the Tokugawa government issued its proclamation of expulsion against the missionaries, his grave is supposed to have been secretly moved to some place at present unknown.

Aside from our interest in him as the first European visitor to Korea, Father de Cespedes has a further claim upon our consideration through his connection with the Korean martyr, Vincent Caoun (Kwon ?).

\* Translated from Spanish. Photostat copy of letter furnished by the British Museum.

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We have already noted that upon his return to Japan Father de Cespedes took with him a Korean captive boy, apparently about thirteen years old. The boy was baptized Vincent, was educated by the Jesuits, and became an able catechist, both among Koreans and Japanese. In 1614 he was sent with Father Jean Baptiste Zola to Peking in an attempt to effect an entry into Korea through the northern frontier. They remained in China for seven years but were unable to enter Korea and were finally recalled to Japan in 1620. Caoun continued in his duties as catechist and, on December 22, 1625, was arrested at Shimabara together with Father Zola and several others. During his imprisonment he was admitted into the Society of Jesus by his fellow prisoner, Father Francis Pacheco, the Father Provincial Caoun and his companions were burnt at the stake at Nagasaki on June 20, 1626.\*

And so, as one result of Father de Cespedes’ visit to Korea, each priest in Japan now reads in his lesson for Matins on June 20th:

“ Amongst these brothers they especially declare that Vincent Caoun was second to none in steadfastness and faith so that he could not be drawn away from the love of Christ, neither by tortures nor prayers nor inducements.”

\* Profillet, Vol. I, p. 80, 293-306, 389-394.

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Appendix I.

Letter written by Father Gregorio de Cespedes from Omura, 1578. Translated from Portugese.

From : “Cartas que os Padres e Irmaos da Companhia de Iesus escreue rao dos Reynos de Iapao & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa, desdo anno de 1549 ate o de 1580.” Impressas com licenca & approuacas do Ordinario. Em Euora por Manoel de Lyra. Anno de MD XCVIII.

Photostat copy of letter furnished by British Museum.

“On the 19th of February, Rinzoji, a great enemy of Christianity, came with six or seven thousand men and encamped one league from Omura to capture the fortress of Don Bartolome, to kill him, and to pillage his land.

“It was the will of Our Lord that in Kagi, which was the first place he attacked, the Christians killed 400 of his army, pursued them after he broke camp, and killed many, among them being fourteen prominent persons. We have heard that many of his wounded soldiers are dying, and it is estimated that the dead reach one thousand. The gentiles say that such deaths can only be caused by poison that the Christians have put in their weapons, because nearly all the wounded died. This defeat has greatly humiliated such a proud and arrogant enemy of Christianity. They also say that while many of the enemy were fighting against the Christians in Kagi, they saw some of the gentiles in a place surrounded by seven mountains swarming with people on horseback and on foot fighting gallantly to defend the Christians. Those who saw this fight say that they were much astonished to see so many people fighting, and that it was they who killed so many of the enemy. We don’t mind hearing that such a thing, although untrue, is being reported among the gentiles, since it greatly helps the good opinion about our Holy Faith. We think that Our Lord will [page 25] do much more for the Christians whom He redeemed with His Blood.

“Regarding conversions, thanks be to God, we never lack work, because each day new gentiles come to us to find life and salvation. Since Easter I have baptized 130 people, and one of these days, with the help of God, I hope to baptize fifty more people living in two places, and who have already been instructed in the Christian faith.”

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Appendix II.

Extract from a letter written by Father Gregorio de Cespedes of the Company of Jesus, from Japan (Kyoto) in the year 1579. Translated from Italian.

From : “Alcune lettere delle cose del Giappone paese del mondo novo dell’ anno 1579 insinio al 1581.” Rome, Zannetti, 1583, 8vo.

Other editions : Brescia, 1584 ; Milan, 1584 ; Venice, 1585.

Photostat copy of letter furnished by the Reverend Georg Schurhammer, S. J., Rome.

“In these last two years there have been converted to our Holy Faith some 14,000 souls and of these nine or ten thousand are in these parts of Meaco where I now make my residence.

“This people, as they are in comparison with the rest of Japan more noble and well civilized, so also appear much more Christian and fervent, considering it the highest sign of nobility to be distinguished in the observance of the Divine Precepts and they act with such fervour and devotion as to give cause for great admiration, because insofar as I have seen and tested they appear in their manner of living to be more like monks than secular people. They show great judgment and are naturally affable and amiable, qualities which are of great spiritual profit to them after their conversion.

“The Christians of these parts of Meaco, counting the above mentioned new ones together with those there were before, would amount in all to about fifteen thousand, with whom we are three Fathers and five Brothers in residence. Just now we are engaged in opening the best gateway for conversions that has thus far been available to us, because Nobunaga, Lord of these places of Meaco and also of other adjacent kingdoms, is becoming every day more and more [page 27] attached to the things of our Holy Religion in such a manner that there is great hope for his conversion and, if this Prince is converted, there is no doubt but that immediately the greater part of his kingdom will follow him for they all reverence and fear him. Our Lord already has granted him such a disdain and horror of his idols, Kamis and Hotokes, that he makes no account of them at all and he destroys their temples, which were the most sumptuous of the whole of Japan, he never ceases to speak evil of their priests, known as Bonzes, and on the contrary to praise and commend the purity of our Faith, and he derives much consolation in hearing sermons and lectures on these matters. Only a few days ago, Father Organtino with Brother Liorenzo (Lawrence), a Japanese, went to visit him and while a great number of important people were standing awaiting audience, as soon as he learned that these two of ours: had come, he had them come in and did them greater honour, getting up from his place he came to sit beside them and ordered that the gentlemen who stood outside might see how he honoured them; and with great affability he treated with them in interesting discussions for three hours.

“On that occasion he said to Lawrence that he wished to dispute with him in regard to the laws of God, and that he should therefore answer without fear even if he seemed to speak in anger. In the coarse of the argument he proposed various doubts which the Brother satisfied so that the King seemed to be convinced of the truth and with a loud voice he said to the gentlemen who were standing there, “Come to my rescue, for I am worsted”, and furthermore, ‘‘Hasten all of you to become Christians with your wives and families.” To which all replied that they would be glad to do so. Then Nobunaga requested that our Brother preach a sermon in which he would treat of the fact that there is only one God and that this God after this life will reward the good with eternal glory and punish the evil with eternal pain. Which matters he wished to be discussed, not so much according to respect for him for he [page 28] had already heard them and could stand it, but rather for his companions as he wished that they should hear these truths. The Brother gave his discourse with much eloquence and spirit, in accordance with the great talent which our Lord has conferred on him in these matters, and thus all were in admiration, and Nobunagra said many things in praise of him showing him particular signs of love.

“A son of him who is heir to all the estate and who already rules two of the kingdoms of it, has given even more clear indication of the intention to be converted. This man, every time that our men visit him, desires to hear something of the Faith and always is satisfied. During these last days he said to Father Organtino that he desired that all his subjects become Christians and that he was already half-Christian and in sign of this he gave a patent for the free preaching of our Holy Law in all his states, giving full permission to all to embrace it Similarly he gave a site that is very convenient and beautiful in his own city for the construction of a Church, but since on the following day he set out for a war, this latter affair could not be put into execution. We understand, however, that in the field where he now is he maintains his good intentions because recently one of his secretaries wrote us that he (the Prince) had asked him to become a Christian saying that he would do so soon.

“For the past two months I have been visiting the Churches of the Kingdom of Kawachi. My companion Cosmoe is such a good worker that he preaches every day four or five and even sometimes six times with much fruit both for the Christians and the Gentiles. In this city of Sacai, which is one of the principal ones, there was great attendance at the sermons; and two days ago I baptized a doctor (medical) who is much known and esteemed as a man of great learning and of rare judgment and well acquainted with the laws of Japan. This individual, after he was moved by the preaching to convert himself to Our Lord, set about persuading his relatives and friends that they should [page 29] come and hear about the true way of salvation which he had just found; and we hope that our Lord will use him as an instrument for converting this entire city.

“In a land which is called Noccu (?), the Blessed Lord has this year worked many miracles of five blind persons who after being baptized immediately received their sight and of a leper who, being already consumed with the disease, asked counsel of a Christian friend of his as to what he should do to be cured and the latter persuaded him (because our Church was somewhat distant) to go every day, with great faith, to visit a Cross which was erected in his house to the God of the Christians. After having made the third visit he was cleansed and healed of all his leprosy as if he had never had it and so with great satisfaction he betook himself to the Church and after being instructed he received baptism. Many other miracles were performed at this time which I omit to mention lest my letter become too lengthy.”

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Appendix III.

Copy of a letter from Father Gregorio de Cespedes to the Father Provincial of India, from Osaka, October 30,1585. Translated from Portugese.

From : “Cartas de Iapao” (Segunda parte das cartsa de Iapao escreuerao os padres & irmaos de Compan hia de Iesus).

Photostat copy of letter furnished by British Museum.

“In all these places, by the divine mercy, much harvest has been reaped. I believe that the total number of those baptized this year will be over 3,000 souls, all of whom are from the domain of Ucondono Justo. In this city of Osaka, where Chikuzen-dono resides, Our Lord wished to choose many chief lords for his Holy Faith. The most important of them is called Chikuzen-dono who has in Ise an income of more than 250,000 bags of rice and more than 6,000 soldiers under his banners.

“Another important lord is Toxoirixu of Chikuzen-dono called Conderaquansioye, who has in Arima an income of about 60,000 bags of rice. Another one, called Maquinuira Chobyoe and who is the head of the Vocanarixuo, has in Omi an income of 25,000 bags of rice. Setamanoizo, who is another convert, has in Omi an income of about 12,000 bags. I might add some more important lords, but I shall not mention them, as it does not seem to be necessary. In this church of Osaka about 200 people have received baptism and all of them are soldiers. Owing to these good results we have great confidence that Our Lord will arrange things in such a way that His Holy Church will be well established here in Japan.

“Now we wish much peace and quiet in order that the lords who were recently converted may become zealous and enter into the joy of their salvation so that through their reformed lives and their example the other people [page 31] will be moved to listen to our sermons and come to know the Creator. The continuation of war would be a great inconvenience since it would not give them the time to come to us even if they wished to deal with the things of such importance as their salvation. The old Christians do not let themselves be overcome by anybody; they behave well and are full of fervor and obedience to the Fathers.

“As I know that Your Reverence will be glad to have news of the lords and nobles whom you knew, I shall speak of them.

“Yuguin-dono, the lord of Kawachi, died in a battle that took place in the kingdom of Owari with an army of Chicuzen-dono, which was destroyed. In that battle died two another prominent nobles, the lord of the kingdom of Minno, his son, and his son-in-law Seogen-dono. Among the dead there were also Sechun-dono, Sentoriorixu and Yosuke Pablo, the son of Hirado Leon, whom Your Reverence knew; and about one month ago Hirado Leon himself died of illness after receiving the sacrament With the death of Yuki-dono that family came to an end. His wife Maria is well with her sons and is staying now at her father’s. Tango-dono Yasemi is now at the service of Ucondono, and all in the house are in good health, and keep themselves good Christians. After the death of Aguequi, Saga-dono, who was on his side, was obliged to escape from Saga and is now an exile in Yamato, where he has been living this whole year without being able to return to his estate, which he has lost hope of recovering. Mancio is in a good position, since he was helped by the lord of Yamato, who gave him an income of 400 bags of rice without the obli-gation of serving in the war. His father Sampaco, who is in good health, is always in the church, and now he resides here in Osaka and has become a religious man. Tango-dono and the other lords of Kawachi were expelled from that kingdom and scattered in various places with great loss to his estate. Of all of them, the one that is in the best position is Tangodono who, being a warrior, is at the service of one of [page 32] the nephews of Chicuzen-dono, lord of the kingdom of Omi, which gives him an income of 8,000 bags each year. The Christian chiefs and soldiers of the kingdom of Kawachi, having been scattered in various places, are now as a body without soul; however, there are some among them who per-severe in the faith. Of the churches of Saga, those of Okayama and this one in Osaka, were burned during the war. The Christians of Yabaxingata and of Bunda, their sons and other noble Christians, are all well, but there has been some change in their conditions. Those of Sakai, Re-oqueloim Sosai, and the others are well. Riuza and his son Yakiro enjoy a magnificent position, having entered into the good favour of Chicuzen-dono, who honours them and raises them in position day by day. He has appointed Riuza, Daicuan of 14,000 bags of rice in Kawachi; has appointed his son Augustin chief of all the sea forces and lord of the Kondoshima island, Muro harbour, and another two or three harbours, all of which will give him an income of 20,000 bags. He deserves to receive such favour because he is a good Christian and a true son of the Church, which he helps with many and large alms. He has a great desire to place all his property and his life at the service of God and the Church, and he shows himself very compassionate towards the poor Christians. Chicuzen-dono has elevated him to such high position in recognition of the great victories which he gained at the head of his army, and his heroic deeds. Ucon-dono Justo is a rare example and his virtue grows day by day, and the splendor of his life is such that we may say that it was through him that God has illuminated all the lords, who, as I said before, were baptized. In fact it was through his conversion and his advice that many came to here our sermons, and notwithststanding his being such a great noble, as Your Reverence knows, and although very busy with worldly affairs, without neglecting his obligations of state, he continually seeks for occasions and means for conversing with his vassals in order that they may come to know the Creator. Moreover, he speaks so well and so logi- [page 33] cally about the things of God that none of our Japanese brothers surpass him. His life is a cause of astonishment among the gentiles; all respect and love him, and Chicuzen- dono says that his pure life cannot be imitated by other men. He loves him, and speaks with him many times, and considers him the man he can trust the most His father Dario is well, and not inferior to his son in virtue; the same I may say of Taralemon, his wife Justa and his elder son.

“This is all I may say regarding the Christians that your Reverence met here. Regarding those whom I left in the kingdom of Ohashi and Mino (about 600 or 700) we know that they are well and continue to believe in our faith, although they are left to themselves as I have not visited them during the last few years, that is, since the death of Nobunaga, on account of the wars raging in the kingdom.

“I recommend myself to the Holy Sacrifice of Your Reverence.

Osaka, October 30, 1585, From Your Reverence’ unworthy son and servant of Christy, Gregorio de Cespedes.”

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Appendix IV.

Letter written by Father Gregorio de Cespedes from Arima, January 18, 1588. Translated from Portugese.

From: “Apparatos para a Historia Eccleziastica do Bispado de Jappao, 1583-1593”, a manuscript forming a part of the “Historia de Japan” by Luis, Frois, S. J. Signature of MS: 49-IV-57-57. Only two copies extant; one in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, and the other in the private library of M. Paul Sarda, 7 Grande Allee, Toulouse.

Manuscript copy of letter furnished by Senhor G. A. Almeida e Silva, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon.

“We left Arima after completing the renewal of our vows which took place on Christ’s day, to reap the spiritual harvest that we hoped for in the land of Andoku Shimabara, which is the most important in Takaku. By the mercy of God, and thanks to the assiduous work of the four brothers who were with me and who preached in various places, the crop was abundant

“While the preachers gave instruction in the Christian faith, I assisted them in administering the Holy Baptism. Then we went to the fortress of Andoku, the commander of which is a nobleman, an uncle of the Daimyo of Arima and brother of the governor of Arima, who became a Christian three or four years ago during an illness which put him in danger of death. While the governor was suffering from his illness, and when almost crushed by pain, upon hearing of the blessing of baptism, he wished to be baptized. When he recovered, wars and other obstacles supervened, but he remained a Christian notwithstanding He continued staying in the fortress with his sons and vassals, all gentiles, from whom he did not differ much spiritually on account of his weak will and the little that he had heard about Christianity. However, Our Lord moved him so that on Christmas [page 35] eve he brought his nine year old son to the church at Arima to have him made a Christian.

“The boy was baptized by the Father Vice-provincial, and was called Mancio.

“After arriving in his territory he was again instructed in the Christian faith; and many a time he listened to all the sermons and all the addresses made on Christianity to his vassals. This changed him much and he assured me that he was beginning to feel a Christian, and thanked God for having lengthened his life so long.

“I baptized two of his daughters and all the women of his house, besides eighty men in his service.

“While we were there he treated us well, showing us much attention and making us many friendly gifts. We talked much on Christianity, he promised me to be very diligent during his life, which he has been until now.

“When the people of Sakuma established themselves in that place as masters, in thankfulness for the favours that they were said to have received from Hachiman, whom they consider a god of war, following their victory over Takanobu in Shimabara where he died, they erected in his honor a beautiful temple, which was placed under the care and protection of the commander of the fortress and some bonzes.

“Following this baptism, and on account of Andoku- dono’s fervor, and that of the new Christians, we went to Shimabara and after our instructions in the Christian faith, there was so much zeal among the people that after staying in that land eighteen days, I baptized 1,665 souls. These people showed so much understanding of God’s things that I felt great consolation in seeing them enter the true door.

“As it was near the new year, we returned to Arima. During this time the Japanese are very busy with their houses and families, so that we thought it convenient to leave them for the time being, and resume our work with them eight or ten days after the first moon of the new year.

“1 have confidence in our Lord that the time will soon [page 36] come when the devil will be completely conquered and banished, which I think will be easy as we have already baptized all the heads of the families and the men that have a good name in the three places mentioned above. Those who are still to be baptized are common people with whom there will not be any difficulty.

“In the town of Mie four bonzes were baptized. One of them, before being baptized, came to see me and told me that he was going to become a Christian because he understood well the truth of our Holy Law and the falsehood of the Japanese sects, which he was going to shatter with his own hands, and make firewood of them. And so he did, because after he was baptized, he went to his house and returned with two men loaded with pagodas and fulfilled his good intentions before his old parishioners and, reducing the pagodas to pieces, we warmed ourselves with them, as it was a very cold day.

“After leaving Mie, we learned that the other bonzes, moved by such an example, did the same thing with their idols. Nor was it less consolation for me the great many confessions I heard during this time, from which the old Christians of Shimabara will receive great help.

“On account of the wars and persecutions which, during many years, these Christians suffered at the hands of the daimyo of those territories (and which still now, for the good judgment of God, are banished), it was not possible to be admitted to them during the last thirteen or fourteen years, with the consequence that the people living there could not be visited by the Fathers and receive their help. But now, as it is possible to go there, we can see that the faith and perseverance shown by these fathers have deserved from God the joy of this new light, with which Our Lord has wished to illuminate that land, in order that the gentiles living in it may open their eyes and know their Creator.

“The bonzes of Shimabara, who were always our worst enemies, and the enemies of Christianity, and who trium- [page 37] phed in those places with great arrogance and pride, thinking that they would never lose the domination that they had over those people, will now feel their hearts mortified and will suffer in seeing themselves crushed and despised by those who, until lately, worshipped them with veneration. These bonzes, having now lost their parishioners, and having no means to sustain their lives, have decided to remove to, and earn their living in the kingdom of Sakuma. They are now trying to sell their religious places and objects, since they cannot take them away with them.

“Brother Vicente spoke with one of their most important men, and tried to persuade him to listen to our reasoning, so that they might know where the truth was and understand why the people of Shimabara were becoming Christians ； however, as this man was one of the devil’s supporting pillars in that land and was not worthy to have his name written in the Book of Life because of his haughtiness ana pride, he answered that even if he had listened to us he would not believe and that he was already too old to become a Christian.

“In all these three territories we have already fixed upon good places to build churches, and we trust in Our Lord that with some quiet we shall obtain good results.”

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Appendix V.

Two letters written by Father Gregorio de Cespede from Korea. Undated, but presumably written during 1594 or early in 1595. Translated from Portugese.

From : “Apparatos para a Historia Eccleziastica do Bispado de Jappao, 1583-1593” by Luis Frois, S. J., Signature of MS : 49-IV-57. Only two copies extant; one in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, and the other in the private library of M. Paul Sarda, 7 Grande Allee, Toulouse.

Manuscript copies of letters furnished by Senhor C. A. Almeida e Silva, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon.

“From the island of Tsushima I wrote two letters, from which you will have known of the results of our voyage to Tsushima, and the first crop which, with the grace of God, we have reaped by baptizing twenty important persons, among them the four councillors of Tsushima-dono

“We remained in that island about 18 days and celebrated Christmas in a harbour called Vannoura (Waninoura). We stayed in a poor thatched-roofed house, but there we were given the help of God, since the governor of the surrounding harbours, who was there at the same time, following letters written to him by Maria, (mistress of Tsushima and daughter of Augustin), came to visit us and brought to us some presents. He also wished to hear us speak of the things of God, which I did, and on the same Christmas night, after hearing our sermon, he was converted and I baptized him together with four prominent persons. In order that we might decorate with dignity the altar in the house where we were staying, he ordered clean boards brought to cover the walls, which enabled us to adorn that place, to the great joy of more than one hundred Christians who were there. I spent all night hearing confessions. I also baptized the owner of the house, a 70 [page 39] year old fisherman, a good, simple man, who insistently asked me to grant him the benefit of salvation as, according to what we said, there was no other path leading to salvation outside our Holy Law.

“Four days before Christmas we left the harbour for Korea with a group of more than sixty boats, but before the break of day the wind blew in such a way that we were obliged to change our course. The night being very dark we did not know where we were going, and the waves were so high that we could not use our oars, so we put up sails and went where the wind carried us, in danger of being thrown on a sand bank, of which there are many around the island. However, it was the will of God that at day break we were back in the same harbour from which we had started. Two or three other boats returned with us, fifteen or twenty reached other harbours of the island, others returned to Japan, some drifted on the water in great danger for three or four days until they reached Korea. We did not know how many craft were lost

‘‘Finally, on the day of Saint John the Evangelist (December 27, 1593), we left for the second time, and by the help of God we soon reached Korea, We could not reach Komangai immediately, which was ten or twelve leagues from where we landed, but on the following day we rowed up to the foot of Komangai fortress.

“My Japanese brother and companion soon disembarked, and I asked him to go and see Vicente Heiemon in order to decide what we should do, Vicente immediately sent a horse to the beach with instructions that we should go to him. His brother-in-law, Sakoyemon, was the first to come to see us at the boat, and I with him landed. He took me to his house and kindly invited me to eat. To that house came Vicente with a brother of Augustin, who was already coming to look for me.

“With them I went to the fortress, where I shall be lodging until the return of Augustin who left three days ago for a place six or seven leagues away from here.

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“When he comes back the Brother will visit him, and we shall know then his wish about ourselves, and with the grace of God we shall then begin to confess these Christians, many of whom have already come to visit him. The first to come to me was Sebastian, son of Don Bartolome de Omura, sent by his brother Don Sancho, who came to me himself sometime later.

“Sumoto-dono and Don Juan de Amakusa also followed and visited me. Don Protasio Arima-dono asked his brother Don Sancho to visit me in his stead, and sent me a present of some food. Up to now I haven’t visited anybody, nor shall I send the brother, but I shall meditate during Augustin’s absence. Regarding events in Korea, peace does not seem to be heading towards a conclusion, because the great Chinese leader Yequequi, who began to make overtures of peace, seems to have promised more than the Chinese wished to concede, and the consequence has been that the peace negotiations have been resumed with a more important leader called Xequiro, who has, according to reports, the same rank in China as Quambacu-dono in Japan. He is now in the fortress of Feanjo (Heijo) where Juan Naito-dono, a very noble man, son of the king of Tamba and whom he sent as a Japanese hostage to Peking, was kept for a long time.

“A few days ago Xequiro sent one of his principal chieftains to Augustin, with a message saying that as the peace between Japan and China was a matter of great importance, he did not think it convenient that it should be concluded between chieftains of inferior rank, and that he himself, who has the same rank as the Quambacu-dono of Japan, would take it upon himself to negotiate and conclude it For this reason he again sent Yequequi here with instructions to wait three or four days longer, and that instead of Juan Naito-dono, who went to Peking, he would keep this lord here until the above mentioned Juan Naito-dono’s return upon the conclusion of the Chinese treaty. This is what he wrote in his message, which makes [page 41] us hope that peace will be signed to the satisfaction of Japan. The message also says that the Chinese showed him much attention and honored him and, moreover, that he has sent a letter written by Guichibioye Ambrosio, a vassal of Augustin, written in Peking, and addressed to Juan Naito-dono, whom he know to be in Heijo, saying that he is treated well and with honor and that he hopes that peace will be concluded.

“Toranosuke, the arch enemy of Augustin, is staying north of here, about fifteen leagues away. He has made some attacks upon the Koreans, one of them in a certain place where, according to reports, there were more than one thousand monasteries of bonzes, and where, he had heard, there was great wealth and an abundance of food. However, when he arrived he destroyed everything, burning and demolishing all, and according to reports, to check the impetuosity of the Japanese, one hundred thousand Chinese had come down. The leader of these Chinese is in correspondence with Augustin, and he has offered himself to go to Japan as a hostage, if Quambacu-dono orders all the Japanese now in Korea to return to Japan.

“The fortress of Komangai is impregnable, and great defensive works have been erected there which are admirable, considering the short time in which they were completed. They have built high walls, watch towers, and strong bastions, at the foot of which all the nobles and soldiers of Augrustin, his subjects and allies, are encamped. For all there are well built and spacious. Houses with stone walls are built for the chiefs.

“For one league around there are various fortresses, in one of which is Tonome-dono Pedro, Augustin’s brother; in another Tsushima-dono Dario, son-in-law of Augtistin, who is married to his daughter Maria, of whom I have spoken before. In another fortress there are the principal lords of the four kingdoms of Japan, called Shikoku, and in another are the people of Sakuma, who are now the subjects of Augustin, and the sons of the King of Bungo [page 42] banished from his kingdom, while Quambiye-dono is with his son somewhere else.”

SECOND LETTER BY THE SAME FATHER GREGORIO DE CESPEDES.

“When I wrote the previous letter, Augustin had not come back yet, for which reason I had not seen him. He returned the other day and upon hearing that I had arrived, sent me a message, of welcome saying that being late he could not come immediately to see me. He came the next day, and we met in the fortress. I delivered to him the letters and after he read them, we spoke at length and, expressing pleasure over my arrival in Korea, he told me that as many gentiles came here from other fortresses to visit him, it was not convenient that I should be down where all his allies have their houses and temporary habitations, but that I should be lodged in the upper part of the fortress with Vicente Heiemon-dono, and that the Christians who wish to visit me and be confessed should go there, so I am now living with the said Vicente in the highest part of the fortress, which is not a small desert for the Christians that have to come up, as it is a very high and craggy slope. When I have to go down for some confessions at night, it gives me much work, and when I go back I ride a horse and rest many times on my way.

“The Christians come to confession little by little, so that we have much to do from now to Easter. It would be a great consolation for me to have another father for a companion, but I shall be patient since it does not seem that this wish may now be realized and, with the grace of God, we shall go on until all have been confessed.

“Augustin comes some times to visit me, as do Don Protasio, Don Sancho de Omura and Don Juan de Amakusa, who are most important person.

“Of the nobles the first that came to be confessed was Don Sancho de Omura, with his brother Sebastian who, being young, gives a good example to all the army and [page 44] everybody praises them, and with reason. Following his example, the first that came to confess were his soldiers. Many other nobles also have confessed and so I trust in God that in the same will do the greater part of the people.

“In this fortress of Komangai there are Augustin, all his allies and their subordinates, that is, Arima, Omura, Goto, Hirado, Amakusa, Sumoto, etc. All have their houses at some distance from the sea, and up in the fortress there are Yoseichi-dono, Augustin’s brother and Vicente Heiemon-dono on the look out.

“The day after may arrival here, Dario Tsushima-dono, Augustin’s son-in-law, sent me his greetings, and two or three days later he came to visit me, and so began our friendship- Around his neck he wore a precious rosary which was sent to him by his wife, Maria. He is a very noble young man and of very good understanding and character. The same night he asked me insistently to send the Brother to his fortress to preach to many of his servents who wished to hear sermons. I sent him the following day, and after preaching for three days, Tsushima-dono himself came to me from his fortress in a light craft and asked me to go with him and baptize. Among those who wished to be baptized were his nephew and thirty nobles. The following day I baptized ten more people. It was a great pleasure to see the gladness shown by all and the fervor with which they began to translate and learn the prayers. They asked me for some Christian badge and I gave each one a rosary, which made them very glad.

“During two or three days that I was there Dario gave me a graceful and affectionate reception, treating me well, inviting me to splendid dinners, during which he himself brought the meals, always sitting on a lower place than mine, and always giving me the place of honor. Above all I was astonished to see the beautiful things he has; they surely did not seem to be of temporary use but looked as if they were intended to stay there all one’s life He had many war objects and golden screens; not even his father- [page 44] in-law could equal him, and it is he who has brought the most soldiers. When I returned he wished to accompany me, but I would by no means consent so he sent me as his representatives, his nephew and other important persons.

“By the sermons that his people heard, he also acquired more understanding, and he asked me to leave the Brother with him that the latter might preach regarding confession. He himself wished to confess, which he promised to do soon. He ardently wishes to have some fathers in his kingdom, and told me that if the army returns to Japan, I may rest assured that if fathers will not be wanting in his kingdom, there will not be any difficulty in Christianizing all the kingdom, and that those who are already Christians fervently wish to have their own wives, sons and families baptized.

“It is therefore necessary to make preparations now in order to furnish the kingdom of Tsushima with men since with the help of God all the country must become Christian.

“Augustin was greatly rejoiced that such result should be attained. The Brother has not arrived yet because, besides preaching on confessions to Dario, other important persons who will come here to be baptized, are listening to his sermons on catechism.

“The cold in Korea is very severe and without comparison with that of Japan. All day long my limbs are half benumbed, and in the morning I can hardly move my hands to say mass, but I keep myself in good health; thanks to God and the fruit that our Lord is giving, I am cheerful and I don’t mind my work and the cold.

“All these Christians are very poor, and suffer from hunger, cold, illness and other inconveniences very different from conditions in other places. Although Hideyoshi sends food, so little reaches here that it is impossible to sustain all with them, and moreover the help that comes from Japan is insufficient and comes late. It is now two months since ships have come, and many craft were lost [page 45]

“An understanding regarding peace is not reached yet, and those who should come to conclude it never arrive. Many suspect that this delay is nothing but a trick in order to keep the Japanese waiting until summer, when ships of the Chinese armada may arrive, and an army by land.”

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Appendix VI.

Copy of a letter of Father Gregorio de Cespedes of the Company of Jesus written in Japan in the territory of the Lord of Arima on February 26, 1597, to Father Diego Lopez de Mesa of the same Company in Mexico.

Translated from Spanish.

From: ‘‘Historia de la Provincia de las Islas Filipinas” by Father Francisco Colin, Father Provincial of the Company of Jesus in the Philippines.

Photostat copy of letter furnished by the Reverend Georg Schurhammer, S. J. Rome.

“The Peace of Christ, etc.

“We greatly rejoice in the increase of your Province, as well in the quality of the subjects, as in the much fruit of souls, that is being gathered, especially with the conversion of Cinalva, already irrigated with the blood of Blessed Father Goncalo de Tapia, of whom I have some relics. Blessed be God, Who thus everywhere fructifies and so well knows how to cultivate His plants and new vines, irrigating them with the precious blood of His servants, as has already been seen here in Japan and experienced with the deaths which have taken place of twenty-six glorious Martyrs, as I shall relate below.

“The State of Christianity and of the Company in Japan in the year 1597 :

“At present in this Vice-Province of Japan there are 135 of us of the Company, of whom 48 are Priests and 18 are Brethren, from Europe, while 69 are Japanese Brethren. We are divided into a College and a Novitiate, along with a seminary and four other Rectoral Houses, one of which is in Meaco, another in Nagasaki, a third in Omura and a fourth in Arima. At these latter Houses gather at certain times those who live in [page 47] the residences, which in all number sixteen or seventeen houses. At present I am in the residence of Shimabara, where I have more than fifteen or sixteen thousand Christian souls, with one Father who assists me. Since the strength of the Christian Community is in this seacoast region we are all distributed around here, without counting four Fathers and five Brethren who are hidden in the region of Meaco, undergoing the persecutions of the tyrant Quambacu, who now is called Taica Steadily he discloses more and more the string of his heart and the hatred which he bears for our Holy Law.

Last year Bishop Don Peter Martinez, of our Company of Jesus, came to Japan and visited the tyrant on the part of the Viceroy of India, in order to discuss with this him, so that he might dissemble with us, permitting us to remain in Japan, although hidden. The tyrant showed much pleasure at the visit, received the Bishop and the embassy well, sending them off with honour.

“Iniquitous Reasons for the Persecution of the Christian Community, and Martyrdoms in Japan in the year 1597:

“But it happened that at that time a ship of Spaniards from the Philippines arrived in Japan, half-wrecked and battered, carrying much wealth. When the news was given the tyrant, stirred by covetousness, he sought reasons to rob the ship, saying that they were sailing in Japanese waters without his letter of permission and that he had heard that the Spaniards were people who went about conquering kingdoms, as they had done in New Spain. Furthermore it seemed, he continued, that they had come to Japan for the purpose of commerce, but on seeing his country, they in reality wished to conquer it; that the Franciscan Friars, who had come to visit him on the part of the Governor of Luzan, to whom he had given permission to remain here, with this condition, that they should not preach our Holy Law, he said that they must be spies of the Spaniards, coming under [page 48] the cloak of a visit and, according to what he had heard, they made Christians against his orders. For these reasons he determined to consider as confiscated the whole of the cargo; which he seized, being of very great value. He decided to let the Spaniards free with their lives, but as lor the Friars, because they preached our Law, against his command, he ordered them to be killed with others who were Japanese and had become Christians. At the beginning, guards were placed not only at the house of the Friars of Meaco, but also at that of those of us who were in the same city of Osaka, saying that the tyrant had ordered all to be killed. At this, our Fathers and Brethren prepared themselves with great joy to die in such a good cause. Many very prominent Christians joined our number with the same determination. Among them were two sons of the same Governor of the Court of the tyrant, who went to bid farewell to their father, who even though a gentile and using as much influence as possible, was not able to dissuade them, as they insisted on dying as true Christians, in the company of the Fathers. Thus they joined the latter and it was to the praise of the Lord to see the great fervour which there was in all the Christians, great, as well as small, men and women, all preparing themselves-to die for the love of God.

“Affairs being in this stage, one of the chief governors which the tyrant has, and his most private one, who favours those of the Company and knows of our hiding-place, went to the tyrant and advised him to moderate his justice, saying that as he had ordered the members of the Company to be killed, it was not to his honour after having received the Embassy of the Viceroy, which the Bishop had brought the preceding yean To which the tyrant answerd that it was thus : he had not ordered us to be killed, only those who had come from Luzan. With this we lost such an excellent opportunity, although Our Lord did not wish that we should be entirely deprived of such good fortune, because He per-mitted three Japanese Brethren of our Company to be arrested before the tyrant had softened his sentence. After- [page 49]wards, there was no one who was able to pay the price. Fortunate were these, the Friars and other companions, as they led the way, winning such a precious crown and leaving all the living with much envy on account of such a good example

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‘‘Martyrdom of Those in Japan :

“These glorious Martyrs were in all, twenty-six, the six Religious of Saint Francis, one of whom came in the lost ship and insisted on staying in the same house of the Friars when guards were placed around them. He was going into orders in New Spain and was so fortunate that he took them in Japan at the Altar of the Holy Cross, from where he went to chant his Mass in glory. Three others were Japanese Brethren of our Company; the remaining seventeen were secular Christians. After their arrest, the tyrant ordered their left ears to be cut off. This having been done, they were led through the streets of Meaco, and of many other leading cities of Japan, with great public heralding. Thus they were brought in the midst of winter more than two hundred leagues, as far as the port of Nagasaki, where, by order of the tyrant, all twenty-six of them were crucified and then had spears thrust into them. Thus they offered their lives to their Creator in the day of glory of Saint Agueda, the fifth of February, 1597. These saints died with great fortitude and rejoicing. No sign of suffering could be noticed among them; on the other hand, only an entire will to suffer for the love of God. So much so, that some sang Psalms, while others preached from the Cross marvellously, with great love.

“Blessed Martyr Paul Miki:

“Especially one of our Brethren named Miki Paul, who was one of the best preachers which we had in Japan, who sang as a swan at the time of death, uttering words of such great charity and love of God, that he caused all those who were standing there watching that spectacle to wonder. It is said that there were over four thousand persons then pre- [page 50] sent The names and reason which were placed in writing at the place where they were killed, were, that the tyrant had commanded that justice be executed, to some, because they were preachers of our Law, to others, for having made themselves Christians against his command, and that in the future, all should obey him because on finding anyone practising the same crime, he was to suffer the same punishment. In this mariner the tyrant believes that he will put fear into us and cause us to obey him through terror. But as it is more important to obey God than men, the unfortunate man is misled. Thus with the example of these saints, we are all very much strengthened and comforted and the weak Christians have received our courage so as never to show cowardice in whatever emergency, even giving their lives willingly before renouncing our true Faith. Blessed be God our Lord, that he thus has deigned in our time to irrigate this His vineyard with the blood of so many of His servants. Now surely we have certain hopes of plenteous fruit to come, for which it will be necessary for many hundreds of labourers to come and all will have to know well how to bring in this harvest.

“Within this past year again there have been baptized more than eight thousand souls, among them many leading lords under disguise, who in their time will act as strong support of this Christian Community. Also, in a year, more than sixty thousand souls will have confessed themselves. Many particular things had I to write you of these glorious martyrs, but shall refer you to the report which the Father Vice-Provincial is sending to our Father-General, which report the other Reverend Fathers will enjoy with you. Enclosed I shall send you the names of all the holy martyrs, together with the order in which they were placed on the Cross. Now we shall hope for another good opportunity, because the tyrant, having heard that the justice which he executed as a means of terror and of fright for those of us who remain alive, had brought us strength instead; so it may be that he will still further harden himself in his evildo- [page 51] ing and will send for us to finish with us. May it please God that my sins will not hinder me, but that on the other hand the Lord in His infinite mercy may give me grace, so that with most exquisite torments I may give my life on this occasion, because of the love of Jesus Christ, who with infinite love gave it for all of us. If you should hear news of such an end for me, believe me that you will have a good friend in heaven, who will await you so that we may for ever have joy before God. I have written very much in detail, especially to comfort you. I beg of you to repay me in the same coin, not letting an opportunity pass to write me at length. If I should live, I shall be a better correspondent than heretofore. In the Holy Sacrifice and in your prayers, I beg of you to petition God for me the crown of martyrdom, if it to be for the glory of His Majesty.”

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Appendix VII.

A List of the Less Familiar Japanese Proper Names Occurring1 in the Notes.

Mr. Masayuki Yamaguchi, teacher of history at the Keijo Middle School, has kindly prepared this list of the less familiar Japanese proper names occurring in the text of these Notes as an aid to any who may wish to search in Japanese records for further information regarding Father de Cespedes. No attempt has been made to include in this list proper names familiar to students of Japanese history.

The preparation of this list has been made difficult by the fact that the sixteenth and seventeenth historians of the missions in Japan romanized proper names into Latin, Spanish or Portugese form pronunciations, in many instances, peculiar to local dialects of the periods “Langasqui”, Vozaca” and “Meaco” were easily identified; it was less easy to identify others. “Bougen” was identified as “Buzen” when it was remembered that the original records were hand written and that the “z” was obviously mistaken for by printers.

Personal names presented greater difficulties since, in several instances, the missionary records consulted indicated baptismal names only. preceded by “Don” and followed by “of..........”, so that it has been impossible in every case to trace the correct family name of the person mentioned.

Amacusa 天草

Amakusa, Don Juan de (天草ノ 大名) 大村嘉前

Andoka, fortress of 安德

Andoku-dono 安德殿

Aquequi 明智光秀

Cai-no-cami-dono 甲斐守殿 (黑田長政)

Cavachi-Kawachi 河內

Chikuzen-dono 羽柴筑前守秀吉 [page 53]

Chobyoe, Maquinuria (head of the “Vocanrixuo”) 牧村長兵衛

Comangi 熊川

Condera-quansioye (of Arima) 小寺官兵衞

Condera, Simon 小寺 (黑田孝高)

Daicuan 代官

Darius 高山圖書

Don Bartolome 大材純忠

Hachiman 八幡

Heiyemon, Vincente 平右衛門 (菅平右衞門尉違長)

Hirado, Leon 平戶 レイオン

Jimo 下(九州)

Kondoshima 小豆島

Komangai 熊川

Mancio 滿所 (伊東祐益)

Meaco 都 (京都)

Mie 三會

Miki, Paul, the Martyr 三木

Minno, kingdom of 美濃國

Muro 室

Naito-dono, Juan 內藤殿 (如安) Prostasio, Arima-aono 有馬睛信

Quanbioe-dono,—Simon Condera

Riuza 小西隆佐

Rinzoji 龍造寺隆信

Sacai 堺

Saga-dono 三箇殿

Sakoyemon 菅作衛門

Sakuma 佐久間

Sebastian, son of Don Bartolme ae Omura 大村親家

Sechun-dono 左近殿

Sentoriorixu 三年寄衆

Seogen dono 將監殿

So, Yoshitomo 宗義智 (跗馬殿)

Sumoto-dono 洲本殿 (脇坂安治)

Takaku 高來 [page 54]

Tamba 丹波

Taralemon 次ヲ見ヨ

Terayemon 寺右衞門

Tonome-dono 小西主殿

Toxoirixu of Chikuzen-dono 年寄衆

Tsushima-dono, Darius 宗義智

Ucondono, J us to 高山長房

Vannoura (Wani-no-ura) 鰐浦

Xequiro (Chinese leader) 石老 (石星)

Yakiro 彌九郞 (小西行長)

Yequequi (another Chinese leader) 沈惟敬

Yoshichi-don (Konishi’s brother) 小西與七郎

Yosuke, Pablo 與助

Yugin^dono 瀧川左近將監ᅳ益

Yukidono 結城山城守忠正

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